1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat-herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important characteristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the practical division of labour women rather than men care for the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

For instance, it often
happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated 612
guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes 578
knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man 627
is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the 612
next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one 554
case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which re- 577
flect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is 584
partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter 554
which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many per- 577
sonal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into considera- 612
tion but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, ντεμέρι, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.[1] And if either the

[1] The more general meaning of ντεμέρι in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

584 554 572 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

69 583 425 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] [198] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal cousin as his most trusted friend.

When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters simply because they are males and not because they are specifically agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the community. We have seen how the belief that a married man with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hundred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins.

The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (ξυπνάδα). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

609 578 [558] not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This, in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation without losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the superordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship.

612 But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not [554] lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

612 627 But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go [682] farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple companionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately before and after marriage. For these are the years when the individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him through his influence over the local Member of Parliament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the importunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to collateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίχα) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 612 261 [431] Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine. This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

582 602 elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

582 602 612 Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

582 602 612 554 558 The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard unrelated families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been constantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

they are also an important incidental factor in support of the community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εὔκολα οἱ συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagri

identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the prestige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent. 593 554 598

But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles. 593

It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister. [222]

It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the 593 858

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.

[557] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-
[836] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her

[57] chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in
[582] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband

[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.*

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important

[627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation

[584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to

[582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

* Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 579 867 624 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the point in time when the child begins to play a representative role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 882 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 884 [554] [561] As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari' age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 888 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 554 888 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

596 577 627 684 626 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 579 627 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a [557] measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[557] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

571 609 578 476 234 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in the day up and down to the village while the man with three or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 609 578 685 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

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The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

602

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

strength of both flocks would rapidly be reduced to vanishing point. The evidence suggests that small-scale theft was not generally found among those families using the grazing lands of the same village, but was concentrated on the flocks within the territory of immediately neighbouring villages, that is to say in an area some 5–10 miles distant from the homesteads of the thieves. But at this distance an expedition became a planned undertaking requiring the absence of shepherds for perhaps two days and nights from their own sheep, a circumstance which significantly limited the frequency of these raids. It is extremely difficult to assess what was the frequency, but it seems unlikely that the average family enjoyed this sport more often than four or five times in a summer.

The Sarakatsani justify animal theft on the grounds that before 1937 a man could not provide his family with enough food without stolen meat. It was, therefore, an honourable undertaking. Moreover, since other men stole your animals, both interest and honour demanded retaliation. The older men are lyrical about the satisfaction of eating a stolen sheep by moonlight. A man only kills his own animals for meat at important social and religious celebrations, and then with reluctance. The stolen sheep was a luxury, a luxury at the enemy's expense.

After these expeditions, a shepherd was torn between the precaution of secrecy and the desire to win renown for the daring and cleverness of his exploits. He would openly boast about the number of sheep he had recently lifted, but would not generally reveal their original owner. The latter, however, on his own account or through the reports of kinsmen, formed certain shrewd suspicions. In any event, whether he suspected the identity of the thief or not, he had to take some retaliatory action on somebody since otherwise he would not only become a laughing-stock, but a prey to other thieves sensing an easy victim. The best defence against theft was swift retaliation with interest. Even where a man was sure of the thief's identity, his retaliation against the flock of the stani of which the thief was a member might not fall on a sheep or sheep which belonged to the original thief. Therefore, in either instance, an original act of sheep theft might lead to a series of thefts not necessarily confined to the original participants.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

571 578 685 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount of debt remains.

571 609 233 578 685 [554] The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[1] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

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596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of corporate property and family honour. In the final section of this chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

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[113] [1] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

IX

PATRONAGE

1. COMMUNITY

The Sarakatsani of Zagori are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community in relation to villagers or townspeople. Hostility to villagers is not only a question of a conflict of interests but also a difference of values. The Sarakatsani believe that if the material conditions of their life are indeed regrettable, yet the moral life of their community upholds Greek traditional values which villagers, especially in Zagori, have debased and betrayed. Specifically they claim that the men may be cursed or the women seduced with little fear of provoking the reaction expected of honourable men. These claims are spiced with illustrations. The classic instance is the case of the postman who surprised another villager in the act of intercourse with his wife. He took no action, however, except to observe that this did not seem to him to be the conduct of a good neighbour. Other tales inform of homosexual practices with gipsies, and of ugly widows and unmarried spinsters who satisfy their lusts with dogs. The evidence is rather more convincing for the accusation that they are mean and inhospitable. The common purpose of these allegations is, simply, to deny that the villagers of Zagori have honour. The men are lacking in manliness, courage, and generosity: the women are shameless and given to sexual lust. Criticism is sharpened by the knowledge that the shepherds themselves are despised by the villagers as people unfit to live in civilized society, physically unclean barbarians who put their trust in violence and self-help rather than the processes of law.

In these attitudes two ideal types are opposed. For the villagers of Zagori, actions must be judged against the image of the clever, astute, educated merchant and patriot who may travel abroad but continues to support the village by his benefactions. His activities, however, require an orderly social environment, a respect for the minimum of law and order, an absence of physical violence, and (although this would not be admitted) it required in the past a qualified understanding with the Turkish master.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakatsani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακοριζικο χέρι).

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God.

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them.

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

G 646 666 many clients, and many friends with clients, that a man is successful in national elections.

G 646 662 Since decisions of importance are rarely made by junior officials it frequently happens that a man must take action in Athens if he is to find a favourable solution to his problems. The friend or client of a Member may ask him to use his influence in the office of the Ministry which is handling his case. When the Member visits his constituency his political friends and clients of all social standings come to wait on him in his office, or to drink with him in the coffee-shops. On these occasions he carries a notebook in which he writes down the details of the favours he is asked to arrange.

S G 648 571 554 S 662 G 649 We see that the Sarakatsanos in facing the hierarchy of Government confronts persons of higher social status who share with him no bond of kinship or community. As a rule only nationality and common humanity link them together. In Greek society this is not an adequate basis for the acceptance of social obligations other than the common duty to defend the nation against its external enemies. The indifference or hostility of very junior officials may be bought off. It is a simple *ad hoc* commercial transaction between persons almost entirely isolated from one another in terms of social relations or morality. But the indifference of senior officials cannot be directly countered with bribes, nor is it easy because of the social distance which separates them for a shepherd to approach successfully a senior official. These circumstances are also related to the public arrangement of business by senior Government servants and the need to assert their status and maintain their prestige before their colleagues and immediate subordinates.

S G 648 571 G 647 693 The system of lawyer patronage, which is an extension of the more strictly legal practice of the lawyer, makes it possible for the affairs of villagers and shepherds to receive attention at that level of the administrative hierarchy where decision and execution are possible. A shepherd and a senior official are not directly linked to each other by social obligation or morality. A Government servant sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. But the lawyer, as the intermediary who stands between them, is related by obligations of patronage to the first, and the duties of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14 ●
Zagori
Greece EH1

a friend in the right place. The lawyer, or other patron, bridges the gulf of hostility and indifference created by the absence of relationship and the difference in status. And he introduces some flexibility into the rigid and uncomprehending administration of village life by a centralized bureaucracy.

In effect, patronage converts impersonal and ephemeral connexions into permanent and personal relationships; for in Greek society it is, generally, only in established personal relationships, of which the archetypal forms are found in the family, that any considerable element of moral obligation exists. The initial motive is utilitarian, protection and assistance on the side of the client, political power and social prestige on the part of the patron. But when such a relationship endures for any length of time it takes on a strong moral quality. The patron feels obliged to assist and take a general interest in all the client's affairs, and in doing so he is able both to sense his superiority and approve his own compassionate generosity. The client is conscious of a duty to support his patron politically without undue concern about his protector's party allegiance, and to give free expression to his feelings of gratitude and indebtedness.

The role of patron is to give benefits; that of the client is to honour the patron by accepting dependence. In a society where the concept of honour is intimately connected with notions of individual strength and prepotence, to abdicate one's independence, even to a person of power who is not a member of the community, is an act of renunciation of some significance. The patron in accepting the dependence of his client, who thus admits, implicitly, the inferiority of his status, himself recognizes moral obligations towards the client. The dependence of the client draws attention to the power of his patron, while the protection of the patron suggests that the client is a man of some standing and respectability in his own community. The first consideration protects the patron from the accusation of weakness or foolishness which he would otherwise face if he casually assisted a man of lower status with whom he had no particular relations of kinship, friendship, or patronage: the second represents for the client honourable grounds for the admission of an inferior status which in other circumstances would betray the honour of his community and his own manliness. The social reputations of the two men are now linked. If a patron cannot

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori Greece EH1

S G 571 554 [558] [559] effectively protect his clients his prestige is diminished; and in his own community the client, too, suffers for the incapacity of his patron, since the potential of his strength from this source is seen to be less than was supposed. But when the protection is effective, both patron and client gain prestige from the relationship. The colleagues of the patron envy him the power which his control of a body of clients assures for him, other families in the client's community envy him his cleverness in winning powerful patrons. But the Sarakatsan client will not share with others the vicarious influence which patronage brings him, unless they are kinsmen or affines. For he believes that if he shares his advantage, he loses it. And this is a further reason why relationships across the boundaries of the community with persons of influence are exclusive and particular connexions established by the individual family.

G 647 S G 571 We see that while the organization of administration stretches down, as it were, from the central Government towards the village community but loses power and the ability to take decisions the farther it extends from its point of origin, the structure of the system of patronage, which is based on social relationships between clients seeking for a man with the ability and friendship connexions to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties in return for political allegiance, grows upwards and through lawyers, other persons of influence, and Members of Parliament, is linked to the legislative assembly. Thus the organization of government and the structure of patronage are parallel hierarchies. At any particular level the two hierarchies are related through ties of friendship. The shepherd or villager is excluded from the Government hierarchy, but through the structure of patronage he may be able vicariously to submit his case before a senior official in the public service.

S G 571 631 621 Patronage is the means through which the local community is linked to the wider national society. And it is significant that the group which seeks this connexion is the individual family and not the community. This is clearly the case amongst the Sarakatsani, but even villagers do not co-operate in seeking Government favour except where the interests of the whole village as such are attacked. If the President of a village is able to help a village friend by his influence in the town, he does so

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

It may be agreed (and, in general, correctly) that in a system where a number of groups compete for prestige, a strong group, if it is denied the social recognition it expects, may in frustration turn from competitive action to direct violence and attempt to establish its superiority by force; or it may attempt other forms of direct opposition, perhaps through the use of economic power. But in relation to the Sarakatsan community the family is small and weak. Its inability to make alliances outside the kindreds of its members and their affinal connexions, and the physical dispersion of the Sarakatsani which restricts the activities of any family to only a small area of the total community, are other factors which would tend to prevent a family group and its allies from dominating the remainder of the community; even if we leave aside the certainty of State intervention if violence were used or threatened. Economic or political control of the community by one family and its allies is equally unlikely. Unrelated families do not co-operate to market their produce and consequently there are no co-operative institutions whose officers might manœuvre themselves into positions of economic dominance. Similarly, the community has no institutions of local government which the members of a family and its kinsmen might infiltrate in the attempt to establish a form of political control. The pathetic showing of the Association of Nomad Pastoralists illustrates the concern of all families to prevent the delegation of any effective representative power to others. Each family faces the total community in a condition of dependence. The position it is able to occupy in public life, the quality of the marriage alliances it establishes, depend entirely on its social prestige, that is, they depend on the favourable response of enemies; or more accurately, on the inability of enemies effectively to denigrate a family's reputation.

Prestige (γόητρο) and 'name' concern the Sarakatsani in every context of public action. 'Better to lose your eye than your name', runs the common proverb. This intense competition of families to maintain their prestige against the permanent threat of denigration, and the continual evaluation of other people's conduct, which is fed by an insatiate and hostile curiosity, result in a certain hierarchical ordering of Sarakatsan family groups. In the local gathering of families which share the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

In the local gathering of families which share the pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy, wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community, elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige, it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

loses its sheep through disease its reputation must fall, but in the living memory of its past greatness it will retain a position of some distinction. On the other hand, if their reputations for wealth and honour are untouched, men of these families may often commit breaches of social convention which leave little permanent mark on their prestige. One tselingas[1] of the 'first lineage' married his daughter to her second cousin, a marriage permitted by the Church but not by the customs of the community, yet after the first shock of his action had passed, his position in the community was essentially unchanged.

The families which fall between these two extremes represent the greater part of the community, perhaps four-fifths of its number. In their case, it is difficult to determine any order of ranking that is objective since these families show few differences in wealth, courage, and honour. Yet this level of equality is not merely a residual category between the two extremes. However subjectively it may be assessed, each family believes in a particular and detailed ordering of prestige in which it must continually struggle to maintain its position. Always action of one kind must be taken, action of another kind avoided, 'so that you do not throw down your prestige' (νὰ μὴ ρίξῃς τὸ γόητρο κάτω). It is precisely among these families of equivalent prestige that rivalry is greatest. For here doubt and insecurity are considerable, and this is reflected in the display of ostentatious pride, a touchy sense of honour, and a compulsive attempt to conform to accepted standards of conduct. The very intensity of this competition supports the stability of the ranking order at either extreme. Other families in the community have a common interest in refusing to accept any claims of increased wealth or virtue put forward by families of the lowest prestige. In this way they confirm their higher ranking. Similarly they unite to deny the pretension of any of their own number to be a family of 'the first lineage', or to establish other grades of differentiation, since this would lead to a relative lowering of their own positions.

In radical form, then, the hierarchy of prestige, considered objectively, has only three ranks: there are those who are first and those who are last, in either case they are few in number. The majority are in the interstitial category from which pride and their common interest against further differentiation

[1] [i.e. the head of a "stani" or "company"--Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

prevent any of their number from moving in an upward direction. There is always the possibility of falling to the category of those who are last, but the absence of any great differences in wealth, and the value given to the struggle to protect personal and family honour, hold the majority of families to an unwilling recognition of their equality in prestige, which is seldom admitted in speech but is less precarious than it seems.

2. HONOUR

The social reputation, whether of a man or a family, is a composition of various elements, analytically separable in description but with greater difficulty in life. Among these it is convenient to begin with a consideration of the concept of honour (τιμή) since this is fundamental to any assessment of prestige. Indeed, it is doubtful if prestige may be said to exist in its absence.

The translation of this concept by the English word 'honour' is useful if it is remembered that the analogy is only approximate. In modern Greek usage τιμή is conferred as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person. It becomes the respect or esteem owed to certain persons, for example, to the heroes of the Revolution. From the point of view of the receiver it is whatever raises him up in the eyes of another and gives him reason for pride. In other contexts it may indicate certain qualities or conditions on which the reputation of an individual, or a group, is dependent. More specifically, it refers to the sexual virtue of a woman. It also describes the monetary price, or value, of an object or service. The last instance points to the common element in these various contextual uses. Τιμή expresses the idea of worth, whether this is an economic value in a market, or social worth evaluated in a complex of competing groups and individuals. Most Sarakatsani would understand this range of use, but they restrict their own employment of this word to the three last instances.

Among the Sarakatsani the concept refers particularly to the honour of the individual and the family, these two points of reference rarely leading to any conflict of loyalties since the solidarity of the elementary family is so complete. The situations in which this honour is typically violated or betrayed have

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

Even in the most favourable circumstances loss of honour is unlikely to be entirely remedied within the living memory of those who know of the affair. A man whose family has lost its honour cannot in any real sense be said to possess prestige at all. People say of a man who has allowed his father's slayer to remain undisturbed in the same neighbourhood, 'We don't even say "good morning" to him'. In fact this is not true. People do greet him, but formally and without enthusiasm. He is occasionally seen in the coffee-shop, but he sits in a corner and little attention is paid to him. He is tolerated but his prestige is negative. Loss of honour does not mean direct social ostracism. The sanction is more subtle; it implies the withdrawal of full recognition or response.

Although honour is an essential prerequisite of prestige it is not itself entirely independent of it. Families which on quite different grounds, such as poverty, have no prestige and are classed generally as 'lost' families (χαμένες οἰκογένειες), are denied the imputation of honour even though no positive accusation of dishonour can be pointed against them. Quite small incidents, which are not in themselves exactly questions of honour, are seized upon by the community to show prospectively that such a family, if it were faced by the duty of defending its honour, would be found wanting. The family of Costas Pistiolis is very poor. In the Sarakatsan view there must always be something morally wrong with a very poor man, and given their system of values this is not difficult to understand. A poor man is dependent on others for employment, or favours, if his family is to survive. He is not in a position to insist upon an equality in honour which, in any case, the community will not allow him. One day I saw a youth pelting the little son of Costas with pieces of dung in his father's presence. Costas, however, could do nothing since the youth's father was an influential member of the co-operating group which only tolerated with difficulty the presence of the Pistiolis family among its number. Another witness of the little scene swore and told me that you could copulate with this man's daughter and he would stand by and hold your coat.

Any attack made on the family's honour demands an immediate response. Failure to respond fatally damages the prestige of the outraged group and all its members. Without

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 597 [831] Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of [554] adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

these qualities he also possesses the necessary physical attributes a young Sarakatsanos can fairly claim to be λεβέντης καὶ παλληκάρι. The first of these terms is perhaps the more composite, describing a youth who is handsome, manly, narrow-hipped, and nimble; such a youth will distinguish himself at a wedding by his upright carriage, restrained manner towards his elders, and his agility in the dance. Παλληκάρι is rather the hero warrior with physical strength and assertive courage who is prepared to die, if necessary, for the honour of his family or his country. Caution must always be foreign to his nature.

It is also said that the young shepherd is free and independent. This does not indicate a freedom from social obligation that permits the indulgence of individual fancy. On the contrary, it means an independence from the cares and duties of a married head of family that frees the young unmarried man to give all his thoughts to the defence and vindication of personal and family honour. A head of family must consider what will happen to his wife and children if through involvement in some affair of honour he is killed or thrown into prison.

Since it is only in the years before he assumes the practical responsibilities of parenthood that a man is both innocent of the sexuality of woman and free to model his actions without compromise according to the ideal pattern of honour, these years of youthful manhood (τὰ νιᾶτα) represent for the Sarakatsani a time of perfected manliness when a man reaches as high a point of moral refinement as the human condition will normally allow. Speaking of his youngest unmarried brother Elias, Demetrios Carvounis explained that he, as leader of his family in a world where the majority of men are without love of honour, was forced from time to time to acts which his conscience did not approve. One day it might be necessary for him to go into court, place his hand on the Holy Bible, and swear falsely to save a member of his family, or his stani, from a crippling fine. Another day he must forgo his natural pride and obsequiously seek the aid of some Government servant. Deceit and lies are always needed in his work. On the other hand Elias was every day with the sheep on the high ridges in the clean mountain air, alone or with a single trusted comrade. Evil could not touch Elias in the same way.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

884 156 579 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demétrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [584] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] [411] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 579 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωτσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορτδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

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Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the self-regard of the head of family is not so sensitive as that of the unmarried man. The man whose quick anger before marriage was approved as showing the spirit of the pallikari, is condemned as irrationally violent (ζουρλός) if, after his marriage, he draws a knife at the least imagined provocation. The underlying self-restraint of the head of the family, and the fact that the more volatile unmarried shepherds are isolated each with his own flock for the greater part of the year, contribute to a relative degree of peace and order in Sarakatsan communal life.

The family head must be able to cut a figure at a wedding or a village festival. At a feast he ought to be able to drink continuously without becoming either stupefied or aggressive. To fall asleep even after long hours of dancing, feasting, and drinking, is a mark of weakness. A repertoire of songs, and a proud upright bearing in the dance, are necessary for a man's social prestige. Similarly his clothes and appearance on these occasions are important. A man like Costas Pistiolis with his unkempt appearance, clothes fouled with dirt, and his inability to sing or dance, is a figure of mockery at the very few weddings he attends. Graceless (ἀχάριστος), and unnatural (ἀφύσικος), is the verdict passed on this wretched man.

Finally, the degree of dependence on, or independence of, others is a factor which differentiates the prestige of heads of family. To be a tselingas, or a member of the dominant sibling group of a co-operative association of families, carries the greatest prestige. The dependence of a man without brothers on more distant kinsmen is by no means dishonourable, but it is clearly a situation of less prestige. But the family head who is forced to watch the sheep of another unrelated Sarakatsanos, or a villager, for a wage (ρόγα) forfeits any pretension to social reputation. It suggests that he is so poor that he cannot live from his flock without the money supplement of the wage, or that he has no relatives with substantial flocks with whom he might co-operate, or that he is not acceptable to them. Customarily a shepherd's wage is paid only partly in money, the balance being given in kind, grain, and a pair of shoes for every six months of service. The galling feature of becoming a wage shepherd is the fact of dependence on an unrelated man and the sense of being a kept man.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the community probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable.

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned.

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

reputations. Honour and prestige depend, also, on other factors besides the possession, or apparent possession, of personal qualities. We turn now to a discussion of these other factors.

5. THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE

The elements of prestige we now discuss differ from those that have just been described in that they emphasize, not the ideal equality of honourable men, but the inevitable inequalities which differentiate families in terms of numbers and wealth and certain other criteria. Whereas the concepts of honour and the honourable man are purely social facts, the elements of prestige we are about to examine are clearly not; they involve demographic and ecological factors, and chance.

(A) NUMBERS

Ὄγκος means mass and, by extension, social influence. The Sarakatsani often use the word to refer to the numerical strength of the family, particularly the number of sons or brothers. It is noticeable that in folk-songs and folk-tales the pallikari is typically one of five brothers, or more. The ideal type hero is never an only son. To have many sons is the crowning pride of a man's life, and conversely, sterility, and to a less degree a family of girls, is a mark of failure.

That a strong and united group of brothers supports a family's reputation is wholly understandable. They are able effectively to guard its interests by physical force, they are not necessarily dependent on others for co-operation in the management of their flocks and, until the extended family is divided, there is at least one unmarried brother prepared to revenge its honour. Other men think twice before they offend a shepherd with four or five brothers.

At the other extreme, the man without brothers, or the father without sons, is weak. A man without a brother may be killed with less fear of revenge than is generally probable, a girl without a brother runs a greater risk of insult or a broken marriage contract than do other unmarried women. For in these circumstances the only person under any formal obligation to retaliate is the father, a man of advancing years who is isolated in his family without the active support of other men,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

554 577 596 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a protector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or [156] sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

59 554 556 (B) WEALTH

Τὰ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred [235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis' extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[1]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[1] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

554 581 The problem of choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom involves a consideration of the other family's total prestige, the personal qualities of the candidate bride or bridegroom, and the question of dowry. The prestige that a family will derive from the marriage depends on these three interrelated factors. For severely practical reasons a man may value certain elements of the prestige of the family into which he is trying to marry, more highly than others. He may seek an affinal connexion with a family possessing abundant pastures, or a group with a number of brothers, if he himself has none and proposes to co-operate with them. A family rich in stock is sought when the object is to extract a large dowry. Nevertheless, whichever of these, or other motives, is in the forefront of a man's mind, he will not leave out of account, if he has any self-regard, the reputation of the girl's family for honour and honourable conduct.

A man will not normally marry into a family he considers to be of lower prestige. He often attempts to take a wife from a family of somewhat higher prestige than his own, and such is the haunting fear of a daughter remaining unmarried that her family will sometimes allow a daughter without striking attractions to marry a man from a somewhat inferior family. This is so especially in a case where a man has two or three daughters. For in the case where the girl's lineage is distinctly superior to the bridegroom's, the bride's family is unlikely to pay any considerable sum in money or sheep in addition to the traditional dowry.

581 583 554 178 But, in other cases, the gradual introduction since 1945 of a system of dowry that includes the transfer of sheep and money (dowry-wealth) as well as the traditional blankets, furnishings, and clothes, may work against the slightly hypergamous trend that was previously a feature of some marriages in the community. To take a substantial amount of dowry-wealth is, now, a point of prestige in itself, and also in the sense that it increases the total wealth of the bridegroom's family. Thus it happens, more frequently than in earlier years, that a man will take a girl from a family considered to be of a somewhat lower prestige, if this short-coming is balanced by the advantage and prestige of 50 or 60 sheep.

A large amount of dowry-wealth in sheep or money serves as

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 198

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers, in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women', whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φούντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (περαχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

554 [585] again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented article by article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom. For pride,

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 577 554 The elements of prestige have been divided into two categories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 558 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

prestige, a withdrawal of recognition, a kind of social abandonment. But there are also important sanctions related to this withdrawal of social recognition which are internal to the social personality. I refer to the sentiments of self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός)[1] and shame (ντροπή).

Fundamentally, self-regard is the inner necessity and obligation to achieve identity with the image of the ideal self. This image, of course, is a stereotype presented by society, there is little room for individual speculation, nor would it occur to most Sarakatsani to question its traditional content.

We have seen, in chapter seven, how a father instils in his children a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the family. They learn that in all their actions they are judged by others as representatives of their family and that, therefore, they must compete and hold their own with other children of the same age and sex. A boy learns from songs and stories (and later at school) to identify himself with the values of the idealized heroes of the Revolution. He comes to believe in the superhuman deeds of Katsandonis and Kolokotronis, and in the ability of men to repeat them where the cause has sanctity and men possess honour.

At a more prosaic level he learns, from the interminable criticism of other people's failings, what conduct is expected of himself. The significant point about the image of the ideal self is that it is directed towards what must be positively achieved, that is to the ideal of a social personality with particular moral qualities but also certain material attributes. It is not concerned with a code of moral or ritual interdictions that simply must not be transgressed. Failure to achieve what he expects of himself brings self-disesteem and shame.

A man may feel the loss of self-regard even where his dishonourable conduct, or personal inadequacy, is unlikely to become known to others. But more often than not self-regard also has an external point of reference. A man is constantly anxious as to how his actions and qualities will appear

[1] Although the Sarakatsani use the adjective φιλότιμος to describe a person who 'loves honour', they do not use the substantive τὸ φιλότιμο, 'a sense' of this honour, which is a concept of popular thought extremely common in many parts of Greece. It is clear, however, that ἐγωϊσμός is a close analogue.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

754 776 783 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 152 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide. [825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it [833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of [554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are [271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 751 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people. 232 They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 596 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 754 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention. 152 554 579 And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

848
775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 A recent unpublished source casts new light on
[114] the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a
[352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 The nomad approach to all feminine physio-
515 logical troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened
764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on
513 icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar-
[525] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un-
122 aneled. If he should die on the road — and the
[523] nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three
554 evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in
764 mourning. When men turn fifty and women
767 thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [404] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
494 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
432 and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
591 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

(454) If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
(436) who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 /163 cont./
494 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
[434]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
494 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/164 cont./

596 Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his
594 descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or
554 give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice
[584] of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

[584] However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal
[178] family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

[584] Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the
606 wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended
554 family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended
554 family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] [113] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/166 cont./

596
562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535]
[796] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

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882
554
[627] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the

[535] ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596
554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

/172 cont./

596 554 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 197 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Staréchina, its head, is assisted by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Staréchina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Staréchina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

47. See D. Novakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. É. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Douchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.
(54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 199 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

/176/ 596 404 404 233 404 The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 199 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 199 554 404 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 404 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

596 474 /176 cont./ ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

596 474 554 The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato. This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative. [428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns [891] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the [868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.

/177 cont./

596 474 554 However, one must not believe that the system of succession annuls the principle of the revocation of the extended family head, in case he is incompetent. For, even if the successor to the old head is invested by the latter, the head of the individual families dismiss him if he proves incompetent and replace him with someone else who then also becomes the head of the Tséligato.

474 [596] Moreover, as in the extended family, the participants in the Tséligato are required to obey the orders of the Tséligas, to work and to check on the management.

474 675 The principles according to which this entire mechanism functions are contained in the agreements reached among the participants--agreements constituting a bilateral covenant, the general conditions of which are:

The Tséligas is obliged:

--to protect the participants and their families;

--to carry out all commercial, administrative and other contacts with surrounding society;

--to rent the necessary pastures;

--to supervise the work within the Tséligato;

--to furnish each one with provisions and the various material objects which are indispensable to him, as well as the equipment for the livestock;

/178/--to manage the common enterprise of economic utilization of livestock and to keep the accounts.

In return the participants must:

--obey the Tséligas;

--cooperate closely with each other;

--perform the tasks entrusted to them;

--share the expenses of the common enterprise;

--finally, should the occasion arise, defend the Tséligato even at the risk of their lives.

/178 cont./

474 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there
233 are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example,
464 the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd.
465 If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work
233 for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to
464 their own family.

474 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch
233 ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is
435 to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in
554 case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also
692 responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society. However, in case of damage, [434] [432] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 596 178 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 596 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/179 cont./

He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle horse.

His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the highest point.

Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the negotiations with merchants take place.

It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

(627) To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronounced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 971 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 (621) The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/191 cont./

438 439 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 731 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic), ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks. [602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 [554] [434] The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 437 474 596 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind. In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
692

21. K. Karabidas, 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.
[596]

Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must refrain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations, which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility. Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life. A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited, for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. However, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/283 cont./

787 825 582 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing. That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for everybody--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] [833] [755] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 825 787 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 787 [171] Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoulès: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 787 787 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.

787 [887] [554] However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/284 cont./

787 [887] [554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

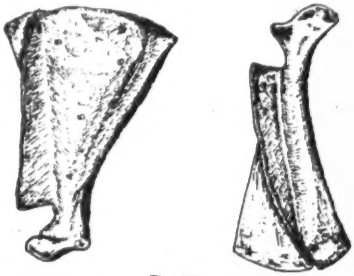

Fig. 102

Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade. 1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 191 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: Βιβλίον Προσκυνητάρια, p. 18.

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, Τ Α', p. 78.

Let us cite also a special study on Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ

/320 cont./

789 182 152 154 121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

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121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women [562] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social [554] roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

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the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

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Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [188] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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182 families and the Tséligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and
SEH affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up
596 into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers,
788 thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

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789 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears
182 on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

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this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

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Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tseligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

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796 494 554 [188] [252] [596] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [176] [474] [554] [574] [182] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 982 494 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 982 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

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761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 784 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

791 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

353 798 On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

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791 796 499 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

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17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] 875 [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 494 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

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CHAPTER IV

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ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

182 596 [562] /380 cont./
even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi- [474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first [233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning 182 596 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place, and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that 554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in- 197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

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182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which

182 361 233 means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).

182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the

182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

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578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its
cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-
cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has
demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that
the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails priva-
tions, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic
terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
771 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is
to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
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2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminolog-
[121] ically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus,
it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

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177 433 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 554 181 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

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121 181 which ultimately insures the life of all. In Sarakatsani society no one is disinherited. From the time of each person's birth he has a socio-economic status, determined in advance, a means of subsistence, a guarantee on his property, assistance in case of misfortune, solidarity and support of the group in case of danger. Socio-economic differences exists, to be sure. But no one is left destitue. In case of overwhelming circumstances, the mechanism of solidarity swings into action so that the victim will be aided.

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121 181 156 Of course, individuals are not taken into consideration as such. The Sarakatsani do not preach the cult of individualism. Individuals are perceived in the foresight and functionalism of their society, solely as cells of the latter and above all as members of the family group. This formula does not mean that the value "man" has no meaning among the Sarakatsani, nor that the predominance of the collectivity acts to obliterate individuals. The Sarakatsani as Greeks and Christians are sufficiently prepared to have the individual figure in the totality of their ideas. However, in all cases, and they are numerous, where their society must make a choice between the individual interest and that of the group, it will prefer the group.

This choice should not surprise us. It is the consequence of the way in which the Sarakatsani conceives of himself as a social being, and conceives of his relations with another, that others, and in short, his society. And this conception is based on kinship, cooperation, the community, raised to the rank of supreme values.

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181 /412/If one has occasion to see Sarakatsani walking in a provincial city one is struck by their bearing, their pride, their nobility. At that moment a comparison with peasants of the plains and with townpeople is